1: Karsten--44-45 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
574, 609 (1928-29)

"...we were instructed by the guide as to how we had to behave on our arrival. When approaching the first house we were warned not to speak loudly or to make any noise, since the attention of the Indians might be aroused too soon; they might run away or find time to take other measures. As soon as the first plantain and manioc plantations became visible one of my Indian companions made a loud signal with a cow's horn which he had brought with him for this very purpose. In this way our arrival was announced and the Indians would understand that friends and not enemies were approaching. Such a precaution is always considered necessary when one visits the savage Jibaro Indians. Thereupon we hastened our steps and a few moments later reached the house, the inhabitants of which were outside to meet us. We were received with the usual suspicion and curiosity and of course had to answer the usual questions as to the object of our visit, who that strange light-haired apachi (white man) was whom the Indians had brought, how long we intended to stay, and so forth. The women and children particularly displayed fear and suspicion, but at the same time curiosity drew them irresistibly to the spot where we were. They became calmer when I opened my boxes and presented a beautiful necklace of glass beads to each of the women as well as small mirrors and needles to the children. The owner of the house received [45] a forest knife and I easily obtained his permission to stay in the house a few days.

Later on I shall describe the detailed greeting ceremonies which take place when a

guest is received in a Jibaro house. A small speech must always be delivered to the host on behalf of the arriving party, and one of my Indian companions, Shaua by name, himself of Jibaro origin, undertook this duty. 'We have arrived, my brother', he said, 'as companions of this white man and carrying his luggage. We come to you as friends and not as enemies, to see how you live and to exchange things with you. Disease and evil we do not bring with us. We want to stay with you a few days in peace', and so forth. The host answered this speech with some words in the same vein. Shaua and his comrades were all the more anxious to express their friendly feeling to our hosts as only with hesitation had they consented to visit these old hereditary enemies of the Canelos Indians."

1: Karsten--45 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
574, 609 (1928-29)

"The rubber collector who had accompanied us to the Indians was, as I have said, almost the only white man with whom these savages had been in contact. As usual he had paid the Indians for their services with trousers, shirts, linen, etc., in consequence of which the native dress of these Indians showed more traces of European influence than I had expected. This influence, however, was absolutely limited to the dress. What I was able to establish during this visit to the distant Achuares was the great uniformity of the Jibaro culture. There are of course minor differences. Thus the dialect spoken by these Jibaros differs to a certain extent from the one spoken by the Upano tribes and the Huambizas. The Achuares seldom have swine and at their great victory feast there is no ceremony answering to 'the slaughtering of the swine' among the Upano Indians. Contrary to what is the case among the latter, who prefer to buy their arrow poison from other tribes, the Achuares are themselves skilled poison makers, and they likewise make their blowguns with which they even carry on a trade. Like the rest of their fellow-tribesmen they weave their loin-clothes, but their method of dyeing the stuff differs from that practised by the Upanos. Their pottery shows many interesting peculiarities, both in form and in the way of painting it, as will be shown later on. But their general mode of life, their social organization and, as far as I was able to ascertain, their intellectual culture is exactly the same as that of other Jibaro tribes, in spite of the relative isolation in which the Achuares live and probably have lived for many decades, perhaps for centuries."

1: Karsten--61 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
727, 574 (1928-29)

"The many and complicated ceremonies performed at the great victory-feast of the Jibaro Indians will be described in detail later on. For the moment I shall only relate a few incidents observed by me during my visit among the head-hunters, and certain experiences which in their way throw light upon the character of the savage Jibaro Indians. It is needless to say that there could hardly be a more convenient opportunity of getting an insight into the social life of an independent Indian tribe than at a great feast, where numerous guests were present and where the peculiar 'etiquette' customary on such occasions among the savage Indians was strictly observed.

The preparations for a victory-feast are exceptionally great, beginning as early as some two years before the feast proper is celebrated. The two or three last weeks preceding the feast, however, the Indians are particularly busy, the men and the women performing each their share of the work according to the strict division of labour prevailing among the Indians. Above all the women are occupied in carrying home big loads of manioc from the fields for the purpose of brewing the large quantities of manioc-beer which are necessary. During these days Indians from the neighbourhood are continually arriving to look at the preparations and to inquire about particulars concerning the coming feast, and each of them must be harangued by some one of the hosts and entertained with manioc-beer, which is offered them by the hostesses of the house and their daughters. The victor himself again, pays frequent visits to the neighbouring

houses inviting his friends to the feasts, and now and then returns to report."

1: Karsten--95 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
562, 574 (1928-29)

"No guest is expected to enter the house except through the door leading to the men's department, nor can he, without special permission, enter the interior of the house or the women's department. Only a guest who is well known to the Indians, or has lived for some days in the house, can enter there or occasionally use the backdoor also."

1; Karsten--222
116, 152, 574

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"I have stated before that jealousy is not particularly characteristic of the Jibaro women who are the co-wives of the same man, which may in part be due to the fact that in many cases they are sisters or near relatives. Unfortunately the same cannot be said of the Jibaro men, who generally are very jealous of their wives. The jealousy of the Jibaro men forms part of their general suspiciousness and treacherous character. They can never trust a visiting guest who, even when he seemingly comes as a friend, may nevertheless nourish evil designs, trying to bewitch the women with the evil eye or to seduce them with his love charms. If the Jibaro Indian has found, or believes he has found, his suspicions confirmed, he is terrible in his revenge, and this revenge turns not only against the supposed seducer but also easily against his own wife."

1: Karsten--245-247 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 574, 609 (1928-29)

"There is hardly a day that the Indians do not receive guests of some kind. In fact, the reception and entertainment of guests fills a good deal of their time and forms a side of their social life which especially attracts the attention of a white visitor. There is a certain difference in the reception, according as the visitors are known to the inhabitants of the house or are complete strangers, but in either case certain ceremonies are considered absolutely necessary. Strangers must announce their arrival by a loud signal when they approach the house, in the way I had to do myself for instance when I visited the Achuares.

If the visitors are friends of the owner of the house or at least known to him, they can enter without further notice. Generally three or more come together; seldom does an Indian pay a visit alone. The guests always come armed with lances, guns, or rifles, and the arms are always taken into the house. When staying in a strange house the Jibaro Indian [246] is never separated from his weapons. This is considered perfectly

natural by the hosts and does not arouse any particular attention. (1)

As soon as the visitors enter, each of them pronounces the word: Winyáhei, 'I have arrived', whereupon they remain standing motionless at the door in a row. Then generally some of the younger boys step forward and hand a small seat (chimbúi) to each of them. They now sit down at the door with their lances stretched out, but do not utter a word. The host of the house at first pays little attention to the guests, but calls out to the women to bring them manioc-beer and starts to arrange his dress. He plaits his long hair in the usual three pigtails, puts on his ear-tubes, paints his face, and puts on

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"1. It is surprising to find, in G. M. Dyott's book On the Trail of the Unknown (p.180) the following passage: 'On one of my expeditions a companion would insist on carrying his rifle into the Indian houses we visited. Local custom said that all weapons should be left outside during calls, and this man's failure to comply with an apparently unimportant practice nearly embroiled our party in warfare.' Everybody who has travelled among the Jibaros knows that this statement is the very reverse of the truth. According to local custom it is perfectly natural that all weapons should be taken inside, and I myself and my companions always took our rifles and guns into the Jibaro houses we visited."

a new itípi. Then he seizes his lance, steps up to the guests, takes a seat and sits down in front of them, saying the one word Winīti, i.e. 'may you come'. This for the guests is the 'word of release'. They now start to speak, one at a time, as they are addressed by the host. The speaker explains the aim of his visit, adding that besides this he wanted to see his friends, how they live, whether they are healthy and all right, etc. As long as the guest speaks it is not considered proper for the host to interrupt him except by certain grunts representing assent or approbation, and with confirming words like ita (yes)--ah--um--turáma ('so you have done')--ah--níkasneiti ('it is true') --máketi ('quite so'), etc. After the guest has finished, it is the host's turn to answer him, the guest only listening and interrupting, as his host had done, by the usual grunts of assent. This conversation lasts for five to ten minutes and must be carried out with each guest separately. Only after the last guest has been greeted in this way and had an opportunity to speak, can all of them leave the door and freely move about the men's department.

The most curious thing in this greeting ceremony, however, is the tone in which the men speak and the way in which the whole conversation is carried on. It is not the ordinary conversational tone; the Indian who is speaking for the moment shouts loudly, and the words follow [247] each other so quickly that to a person who is not well acquainted with the Jibaro language it is extremely difficult to understand what they are saying. During the conversation the host and the guest regard each other with stern

looks just as if they were angry or excited, while they speak they hold the hand to the mouth, and after every fourth or fifth word they spit on the ground, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left. A listener unacquainted with the customs of the Indians might believe that two madmen are conversing. It may be more to the point however to liken them to two lions, doing their best to arouse mutual respect. The guests drink manioc-beer the whole time they are conversing, it being offered them by two or three women who move continually between the men's ante-room and the 'kitchen' with their piningas."

"As appears from the Enéma conversation, the Indians sometimes visit each other for the purpose of bartering, and this kind of friendly communication between the sub-tribes may be contrasted with the still more common wars and blood-feuds. Since those tribes who do not reckon blood-relationship live mostly on a hostile footing with one another, it is only in exceptional cases that such tribes associate in the friendly way that barter requires. The different economic conditions under which the different tribes live may, however, compel them to enter into temporary relations with each other. Thus even their natural hatred for the whites has not prevented the Jibaros from having commercial relations with them for the purpose of obtaining things which are extremely useful or absolutely necessary, like axes, knives, guns, and rifles, as well as gun-powder. I have alluded before to the dirty trade in human heads (tsantsas) between the Jibaros and white 'merchants', and of which we may say that it has encouraged inter-tribal wars and thus contributed towards the diminution of the Jibaro race. Of a harmless nature, on the other hand, has been the trade which the Jibaros on the Upano, Santiago, and Morona have carried on with the mestizos of Macas, who receive all their salt from the Jibaros, as well as such things as deer's flesh, copal, blowguns, etc. The Jibaros of these regions in return receive swine and fowls, guns, powder, knives, axes, and linen chiefly from Macas. Among themselves the different Jibaro sub-tribes mainly barter blowguns, arrow-poison, and arrows--which, as we have seen, must be

made of a special kind of palm not obtainable everywhere--as well as hunting dogs and salt. Between the Indians of the mission of Canelos and the savage Jibaros a friendly barter is carried on which contrasts favourably with the hostility generally prevailing between them in former times. Above all the Jibaros receive from Canelos their 'small drums' (uchíchi tambora), some of their arrow-poison, and arrows of the inayu palm. The Canelos Indians obtain in return blowguns and hunting dogs. It is chiefly in this way that, in spite of all hostilities separating the different tribes, friendly communication is maintained between them, and culture elements are spread in these parts of Western Amazonas."

2: Stirling--91 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 252, 574

"The women cook in the houses by placing the pots over one of the several fires, the pots generally resting on the ends of the burning logs. The women and girls when in the house constantly chew manioc which they spit in large juicy mouthfuls into one of the big jars placed in front of them for that purpose. Whenever a man enters the house he is at once served with nijimanche by the women and of course it is always offered to a guest who must drink it or else risk offending his host."

2: Stirling--96 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 574, 721

"Because of their continuous state of warfare, the Jivaros are suspicious of strangers and there is a certain amount of ceremony involved in visiting a distant jivaría. It is customary for a visiting party to give notice of its approach by shouting or firing guns when a short distance away. In the case of a fairly large party, an emissary is usually sent in advance to announce the arrival, partly in order to avoid surprise and partly that the host and his group may have time to assemble, dress themselves properly, and make preparations for feeding the visitors. The etiquette upon such a visit consumes a considerable length of time and the foreign visitor must be prepared to lose almost a full day because of the attendant ceremonies when visiting a new jivaría with a party."

2: Stirling--96 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 302, 574

"The writer had numerous experiences of this sort and, as a typical example, a visit to the jivaría of the curaka, Caneros, on the upper Yaupe River is here related. Our party, with 60 Jivaros from the Upano, after breaking a trail across the intervening mountain range, arrived within a quarter of a mile of the clearing surrounding the jivaría of Caneros. Early in the day a messenger had been sent in advance to announce our coming. Upon reaching this point, all of our Indians gathered in a group before entering the clearing. Here they engaged in a great deal of conversation, bathed themselves in a small stream, carefully combed their hair and painted faces. They took out from their bags all of the personal adornments which they had carried with them; feather headdresses, ear tubes, necklaces, etc. When ready, the entire party proceeded in close formation to file quietly through the clearing and into the jivaría.

Caneros, who had been expecting us, was seated on his official stool in the middle of the house facing the door by which we entered. He was rather a young man, tall, well muscled, and fine looking. He sat very straight and did not move or say a word as our men filed in and seated themselves in rows along the walls on each side of the door. By his side sat a man stained entirely black with sua and wearing a monkey fur headdress. This visitation was more than an ordinary event, as with our 60 carriers were four curakas from the Upano: Utita, Tuki, Tsamagashi, and Ambusha."

"While our men were getting themselves quietly seated there was great activity in the women's end of the house, where the wives of Caneros' household were preparing the nijimanche. Lining the walls in the middle of the house were seated Caneros' men, all with their faces and bodies elaborately painted with achiote and sua. The women of the house too were dressed in their best, with woven colored hair fillets decorated with red and yellow toucan feathers.[97] Most of them had their arms painted with achiote or sua in various geometric patterns. We noticed that the women affected a different style of face painting than that of the men. The females used light, narrow, parallel lines with dots, usually smeared on without much care.

Finally, Caneros' head wife approached him, apparently to tell him that all was ready, whereupon Caneros gave a short command to the women and they carried five huge earthenware jars filled with nijimanche and placed them in a row about 12 feet in front of the door. This having been done, Caneros spoke again and each of our four curakas sent a man to drink, whereupon with earthenware bowls and calabashes our men came up to the jars and began to drink in an orderly and quiet way, never crowding around the jars, until all had drunk heartily and the jars were empty. Our visiting curakas were among the last to drink. The women then refilled two of the jars and the drinking continued. During all of this time no word was spoken. Five minutes or more of silence followed and then Caneros arose and, beginning at the left, asked each of our men individually if he were satisfied, the visitor answering 'Ayu!' (Good!). When he had finished the round, he re-

turned to his seat.

As though this were a signal, the men began to talk, and a babble of conversation started which lasted until after midnight. Caneros' men moved around talking to our party, but all of our men retained their seats along the wall near the entrance. Later in the evening the women served them with food, consisting of boiled and roasted manioc."

2: Stirling--97-98 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 574, 521, 195

"The remainder of the night our men slept in this same section of the house and during most of the following day they retained their places along the wall of the Jivaría in comparative quiet. At about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, or 24 hours after our arrival, Caneros pulled his seat in front of Ambusha and began a vigorous ceremonial conversation, very loud, and delivered in a sort of syncopated rhythm, beating time with his feet and gesturing with his arms, while Ambusha replied in similar vein, each of them punctuating the talk with ejaculations of 'Casa', 'Casa', (So that's it!), 'Ho', 'Ha', (Good! Fine!), 'Tsa', 'Tsa', 'Tsa', (No, no, no!), 'Tcah', 'Tcah', (I don't know). The substance of the conversation concerned the events that had happened on the trip and other events of interest that had taken place since the speakers had last met.

After about half an hour Caneros moved his seat in front of Utita and went through the same performance, then with Tuki, and finally with Tsamagashi. Meanwhile, the remainder of the men sat quietly by the walls, apparently indifferent to what was being said. During [98] these curious conversations, the fist is closed lightly and the palm of the hand turned toward the face. While talking, the knuckles are placed against the mouth. As they talk they spit vigorously and frequently between the fingers. The conversation is also punctuated with tongue clicks and smacking of the lips. This continued until evening, various other pairs now teaming off in the same manner so that the noise of talking was much greater than on the previous day."

2: Stirling--98-99 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 574, 537, 754

"As an example of the type of episode which frequently produces serious trouble as a result of a visit by strangers, an incident occurring the following night is also recounted. At 4:30 in the morning we were awakened by a sudden uproar when Caneros took his place at the women's end of the house, facing the men, and began shouting in a rhythmic manner, stamping his feet and making warlike gestures with his lance, which he brandished in his right hand. Occasionally his head wife would put her head out from her cubicle and contribute a few words. Caneros continued in this manner for well over half an hour. When he had concluded, Yerenu, who appeared to have considerable influence in the household, took the floor in his place and orated in similar fashion, stepping back and forth as though going through a dance. He likewise talked for more than half an hour while various of the seated men interjected occasional remarks, creating a terrific uproar; not unlike the effect produced by an evangelist haranguing his congregation, punctuated with the Amens and Hallelujahs of his listeners.

About 7 in the morning the discourse died down and Tsamagashi, one of the curakas with us, said a few words. It developed that an old woman had taken sick during the night. It appeared that Tsamagashi was formerly a wishinu. Caneros was accusing him of having caused the old woman's sickness, and stated that unless she got well promptly he would declare war against Tsamagashi and his household. His wife occasionally joined in saying, 'Yes, we will dig up the lance!' Yerenu took up the talk in the same vein and others of Caneros' group put in a word now and then indicating that they would support.

Tsamagashi then replied that he was now an old man and had lost his power as a wishinu and denied being responsible for this sickness. He further volunteered the information that in his opinion, we, the whites, had been the cause of the illness. Caneros refused to accept this explanation and denied our responsibility.

After the excitement died down Tsamagashi and his wife, who had accompanied him, left for about an hour and then Tsamagashi returned alone. During the rest of the day the attitudes of Tsamagashi and Caneros gave no indication that anything unusual had transpired. [99]

Fortunately, the old woman felt much better and evidently no further action was taken. There is little doubt that had the woman's condition taken a turn for the worse, serious trouble would have developed."

3: Simson--386 [4] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 574

"The Jívaros are hospitable; but are, like most others of their race (and perhaps ours too), very fond of giving little so that they may receive more. However, a traveller, immediately he arrives, is always offered refreshment in the shape of boiled yuca, plantain, or whatever may be cooking, and the never-failing 'chica,' which stands about in every house in very large earthen pots of the 'lotah' shape."

4: Up de Graff--196-197 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 624, 152, 574

"To take up the tale; we had not to wait more than an hour for the arrival of the chief, a fat, sleek, cunning-looking old thief, who greeted me as his Christian brother and produced a small piece of paper, carefully protected from the elements by a palm leaf, on which was written in ink the name 'Lázaro.' He professed to have been baptized by a Jesuit priest at Macas (where we were destined to go ourselves within a few months). The holy water certainly never penetrated his skin, for to the end of his days he was a shameless rascal, no better than the rest of his kind.

His arrival saved the situation, however, for he spoke Inca (known among the Jívaros as 'the white man's language,' curiously enough, the reason being that it is spoken at all the points of contact between the savage tribes and the outposts of civilization). We always imagined that he owed his chieftainship to the fact that he had lived with the priests, and, later, answered the call of the wild, returning with a wider knowledge of the world than any of his fellows possessed.

He was full of interest concerning our movements. Where had we come from? What were we looking for? Where were we going? Had we any companions, and, if so, where were they? We were subjected to a brisk catechism. Well, we told him we were looking for gold, that we were going up the Santiago (known among the Indians as the Pauta), that we had a camp just below the Pongo, and, above all things, that our camp was one vast treasure-house of presents, such as those we had had the pleasure of giving to his subjects. Indeed, it was a source of great sorrow to us that, owing to the bad going in

the Pongo, we should be unable to bring them up... a pity, for they were certainly a very fine col[197]lection.... No, no efforts of ours could overcome the difficulties of navigation in the cañon, with so many heavy dugouts laden with merchandise destined to enrich his people... Yes, a great pity, for we had brought them up from many moons distance expressly for this purpose, having heard of them from other and lesser peoples who trembled at their name.

Pressed to stay with him as the guests of the tribe before returning, we accepted, lamenting once more that we should be unable to give them some small recompense for their generous hospitality, as our stores were irremediably shut off by the Pongo.

After inspecting their huts, we decided that a small island which lay opposite the settlement would suit us better. It was not that their houses were vermin-ridden. On the contrary, like all naked savages who live in the tropics, they are kept far cleaner than those who have to go clothed, by their frequent immersions in the rivers and by the cleansing action of the sun and rain on their skins."

4: Up de Graff--198-199 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
115, 574, 262

"Arrived at the island, with a dozen Jívaros to build a house, start a fire, and unship our kit, we were treated to a most efficient exhibition of camp-pitching. In an hour a fine palm shelter was constructed with a thick thatched roof and a fire was roaring outside with our few stores landed and stacked. We had supper of roast yuca, roast corn on the cob, roast plantains, with peanuts and wild honey for dessert. [199]

The last named dish must have been the ambrosia of the gods; it is delicious beyond description; the peanuts are not cooked, but dried in the sun just enough to remove the raw taste and the honey is pure white and of a fragrance finer than the finest perfume.

That meal was a feast, for we had passed through lean days, as will be remembered."

4: Up de Graff--199 [2] (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 574

"After supper we settled down to rest. Such was the confidence which we had been able to establish in those few hours that the savages slept peacefully round the fire all night unarmed. Game and I endeavoured to do guard duty in turns, a Herculean task after so exhausting a week.

Resting, nursing our feet, eating, chatting, and waiting, we passed four days on that island. Our feet were skinning over again, helped by the freedom from the constant soaking to which they had been subjected."

4: Up de Graff--199-200 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 574, 431

"Bit by bit the leaven of our carefully chosen words was seen to be working in the minds of the Indians. From time to time the chief would bring up the subject of those presents, with childish inquiries as to the size [200] of the hand-mirrors and the colours of the beads. Had we made him a direct proposition to come down-stream with us, it is very likely that his natural caution would have persuaded him that we were preparing a trap. We were in a quandary that third night of our stay with him, for the next day we should have had to go back to camp in any event, having arranged with the others to return within fifteen days at all costs if alive and free. We were debating as to whether we should openly propose to 'Lázaro' that he should accompany us with a party of canoe-men, when we saw him putting off in his canoe to come over to the island.

He landed, came straight over to where we were sitting by the fire and sat down. A few minutes' talk brought him to the real purpose of his visit.

Why could not the difficulty about getting the presents through the Pongo be overcome by him going down with us with some of his expert river-men and helping us?

We jumped to our feet. What fools we had been never to think of that way out!... How brilliant an idea had occurred to him!.... Why, at one blow he had solved the whole problem, and his tribe would reap the benefit of his astuteness. Most certainly! We had never thought of such a thing, but would avail ourselves of his offer. When should we start? The sooner the better, after all: on the morrow?....Right. We would waste no time.

And, although it was never sure whether we should reach the Pongo with any Antipas until we were actually under way and, what is more, out of sight of the hutments on the bank, it is a matter of history that we did. For next day, without any fuss or ceremony, we bought a sound dugout for one carisa of poison, and pushed off with eight canoemen, led by the medicine man Pitacunca en route for Borja and our friends."

12: Rivet--605 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 574, 562, 152

When the Jíbaro women come with their husbands to visit a white man, he is not permitted to talk to them, under the pretext that "they are not worth the trouble". Besides, they don't know ~~any~~ Spanish. When a friend of the tribe comes to the house, they never take part in the conversation; they do not approach a group of men except to bring chicha; if by chance the husband questions them, they answer right from the kitchen. The visitor does not greet them and pays no attention to them.

This contempt on the part of the Jíbaro men does not, however, exclude great jealousy, a sentiment which distinguishes them from their neighbors, the Zaparos. Simson reports that at Pintuc it was public knowledge that an old Indian who lived on the bank of the Pastaza had killed one of his six wives for infidelity. (1)

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1. Simson, op. cit., page 387.

12: Rivet--612
116, 574

(no date) 1907

Jívaro

The relations between the members of the tribe are constant and even daily. One of the principal occupations of the Jívaro is to visit his neighbors. These visits have a very special character and one might say are regulated according to an almost invariable protocol. Before he arrives, the visitor stops at the edge of a river, bathes, combs his hair, paints his face and chest, puts on a fresh itipi, puts the tendem on his head, and announces his arrival by blowing into a horn or shell which makes a loud noise (1), so that the friend may be aware of the intentions of the new arrival and have time to get dressed himself.

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1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 79.

The Jívaro enters the house saying, "Uinahe" ("I have come"), to which the host answers simply, "Uiñita" ("Come"). Then he sits down on a bench near the door without adding a word. This coldness on the part of the visitor and indifference on the part of the host are the rule. It is not until the latter, properly dressed, is seated opposite the new arrival and has asked him why he has come and where he is going and where he has come from, that the conversation commences; a strange colloquy of extraordinary animation, vivacity and volubility; each one in his turn taking the floor and hurriedly pouring out what he has to say in a loud and sonorous voice. "All the body goes into action, hands and feet moving, the chest heaving, eyes flashing fire, forehead burning, and the hair violently thrown back from the head falling on naked shoulders." (1) One would think that a violent dispute had broken out between the two friends, but they are simply talking; while one speaks, the other approves, confirms, gets excited, and shows by his various comments [613] the interest he takes in the speaker's recital. At the end of half an hour of this tiring conversation that foreigners, even those most used to the Jívaro language, cannot follow or understand, the tone becomes more natural and more calm, and the Indian does not disdain the joking that refreshes and brings a smile to the lips of these wild savages. This is the moment when each woman offers to the visitor a pininga of chicha. If the host has only one wife, she must offer three bowls of drink.

1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 8.

It has been noted that the Jívaro always talks thus in groups of two, and that the chief of the tribe, for example, does not communicate his instructions in a collective way but speaks individually to each member of the tribe (2), when he wants to assemble them in case of war or for any expedition, hunting or fishing, or for a feast. In short, the Jívaro captains use nothing but dialogue and never harangue their soldiers.

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2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 84.

12: Rivet--613 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 574, 202, 621

These continual visits, in spite of the often considerable distance between houses, constitute the bond which unites the scattered members of the tribe. There is one other; the tunduli, that curious instrument whose presence I have noted in every habitation, the sound of which is heard for 15 kilometers around. The only comparison we could make would be to bells in our country. As they do, it announces death, joy or danger. It is by this means that an attacked Jívaro can demand aid and help from his allies. Even more, it constitutes a veritable telegraphic system. The spaces between the openings make different sounds when struck, and according to the interval between them on their tone, these sounds take on very precise meanings to the savage. Missionaries have noticed many times the incredible rapidity with which news travels by this means through impenetrable forests. The tunduli takes the place very well in the Jívaro country of the fires used by certain people (1).

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1. Simson. op. cit., page 387. Von Hassel, op. cit., page 57.

18: Hermessen--443-444 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 273, 574

"From the former [KS: the yucca] the intoxicating liquor chicha was made. The method of its elaboration is not nice. The peeled or scraped tuber, after being boiled, is masticated by the women and set aside to ferment. For drinking, some of the unsavory mess is put into a shallow [444] receptacle full of water and worked and stirred with the fingers until the whole is well assimilated. The coarser fiber, as it comes to the surface is picked out, and the 'cup,' generally a calabash about a foot in diameter, is then ready to be passed round. To avoid giving offence, I had to take, or feign to take, a sip upon many occasions.

Great quantities of chicha are imbibed at Jíbaro feasts, a unique feature of which is that the host entertains vicariously, some other member of the house being appointed to represent him, while he wanders in Elysian fields under the influence of a narcotic made from a vine called ayahuasca (Inca, 'dead man's vine'; Banisteria caapi, Spruce). (23)"

"23. Op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 423-425."

"Very curious are the ceremonial conversations (or perhaps, more correctly, monologues) which these Indians exchange, as a preliminary to any natural talk, whenever and wherever they meet. The speaker never looks at the individual addressed but allows his eyes to wander all around with an odd air of nonchalance; while the other accents the oration, as it were, by the constant utterance of deep-throated grunts or short, sharp, rapidly repeated ejaculations, translatable, according to one authority, (26) by the Spanish expressions sí, no, bueno, como no, así es. And every now and then the hearer expectorates in a manner suggestive of contempt, disgust, or defiance, or indulges in that peculiar clicking of the tongue habitual, it would seem, to all Amazonian tribes, whatever the action may denote. (27) The voice in these effusions is always pitched very low, so that

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"26. The Rev. Father Enrique Vacas Galindo, O. P., in his work 'Nankijukima,' published at Ambato, Ecuador, in 1895. The title is the name of a Jíbaro chief of whom the author writes.

27. Cf. Simson, op. cit., p. 94; Whiffen, op. cit., p. 249."

it acquires a ventral timbre, and the hand, with fingers bent in toward the palm, is frequently held in front of the mouth, presumably for acoustic effect. As the harangue proceeds it gathers in strength and vehemence of delivery like the crescendo of a swiftly oncoming storm, while apt emotional gestures and pose lend to the performance a fitting dramatic touch. Then the other holds forth in like manner, and, if several be present, each one has his turn. I listened to many of these extraordinary and really impressive declamations, but never succeeded in learning anything as to their subject or import. . . .

A considerable time was thus consumed at the house which we were now visiting. The drinking of chicha followed, and after a decent interval, during which I distributed some presents of gunpowder and shot, small mirrors, beads, and other trifles, we took our departure."

"Our first Jivaro visitor called when I was away from camp exploring the jungle. Johnston did his best to entertain him, and on my return I found the pair seated out in the open, laughing and waving their arms about like a couple of lunatics.

'What is it all about?' I asked.

'Lord only knows, I don't,' replied Johnston. 'The old boy has got something on his mind, and all I have been trying to do is to hold his interest until you could get back to photograph him. He is an interesting type; look at those strings of iridescent beetle wings hanging from his ears. They show off wonderfully against that tawny hide of his.'

The stranger certainly was a fine specimen. He wore the regulation short loin-cloth secured about the waist by a fibre-like cord; a band of monkey's fur adorned with tucan's feathers, encircled his forehead, and over one shoulder a fur bag and a cow's horn were slung.

After considerable chatter, I managed to gather that the man's name was Kuashu, and he was anxious to know if we had any bananas. On learning that we had a good stock, he asked if he might call his family over to help dispose of them. His relations, he went on to tell us, were fishing down river and would be glad of a little food. [147] We promptly extended the hospitality of our house, and told Kuashu to summon his friends to the feast forthwith, which he did by blowing a long blast on his horn.

Hardly had the echoes died away over the forest, when we saw a number of figures coming across the gravel bar. To our surprise, instead of a party numbering five or

six, Kuashu's family developed into a small army of men, women and children, who consumed bananas in a way that hardly seemed possible. We certainly didn't grudge them the food, but we did marvel at their capacity for disposing of it.

The whole pow-wow went off most successfully from every angle. We took photographs, and in return made sundry presents of beads, matches and other trifles. Strips of motion picture film were regarded with particular admiration, and several of the men adorned their heads with a loop of it. I have always wondered why this material is so popular amongst primitive people; wherever I have travelled on the globe, it proves an article of special interest and strips of it are invariably donned as ornaments for the head.

Our meeting with Kuashu had one important result. He invited us in our turn to pay him a visit, a sort of week-end affair. He lived some distance away, and before he left us, we had agreed to call when next the moon was full, providing he would send one of his tribesmen to guide our footsteps."

"With the advent of the full moon, Kuashu sent over a couple of guides, and we went to pay him the promised visit. His house was quite a long distance away, something like eight hours on foot, over a slender trail that ran south along the west bank of the Upano. We crossed six small streams on the way there, which are known to the Indians as Jurumbai, Pausa, Timbaimi, Cachi Yacu, Metzangaimi, and Sungaimi. About fifteen minutes before reaching our destination, we veered around to the east over some swampy ground. Here every vestige of trail ceased, but our guides, without faltering, kept on as if following the main road leading to a big city.

When least expecting it, we suddenly came upon Kuashu's abode in a secluded section of the forest. It was built on rising ground, with juca and bananas growing plentifully all about it. Strategically, the place was well-chosen. A hillock surrounded with boggy land is about as immune from attack as anything could be. Marauding bands of Indians would find it difficult to approach such a place by day unless familiar with the lie of the land; at night it would be next to impossible to avoid detection.

In construction, the house was typical of many we had seen in the Jivaro country, oval in shape, with walls built up of hard wood poles driven vertically into the ground so close together that it was impossible to squeeze a hand in between them. The high roof thatched with palm leaves gave it the appearance of a big hayrick planted down in the heart of the jungle. [152]

We were ushered through a narrow doorway at one end of the establishment. All was dark inside, save for what little light filtered through the cracks in the walls, and the air was laden with the pungent smell of stale smoke. The women-folk brought up low stools for us to squat on, and in the usual hospitable manner, set food before us. We, in our turn, distributed a few trinkets amongst the members of the household, which served to put us on a friendly footing with everybody."

20: Dyott--173-174
116, 202, 595, 574

(no date) 1926

Jivaro

"The house from which the sounds [KS: drum message] emanated belonged to a man, Kun-gupi by name, who was one of Kuashu's fathers-in-law. Seven months previously each of these men had felt the need of adding a new wife to his establishment--a little young blood to make up for the grey hairs of the older women, so they had solved the problem by swapping daughters and it was in this manner that the young and handsome Inza had become Kuashu's bride. [174]

As we drew near the edge of Kun-gupi's clearing, we announced our arrival in true Indian style by shouting lustily. Our call was promptly taken up, and several young braves came running down the path to greet us. Each carried his spear, more out of habit than anything else, though experience has taught them that such habits are worth cultivating. We were piloted through a dense banana patch, over countless obstructions, to a rather small house, planted on the hillside. One by one we squeezed in through the narrow door-way and there, in its cool interior, found ourselves as if in a bee-hive. It was simply swarming with brown figures and a constant buzz of conversation came from all quarters. We were offered stools to sit upon, and the usual niji-manchi was forthcoming; but when a large pin-inga (bowl) of the white liquid was passed over in our direction, both Johnson and myself waved it aside, as the method of preparing it was yet too fresh in our memory."

"The confused jumble of voices about us made it quite impossible to grasp what was happening, but slowly we caught a few odd phrases which told us that this was no ordinary drinking bout, as we had supposed, but an impromptu gathering, assembled to discuss a startling piece of news--Kun-gupi's brother, who lived on the other side of the river, had come to an untimely end.

It was generally known that this man had been troubled with evil spirits for some weeks past, but at noon to-day, he had unexpectedly drawn his last breath while seated quietly on his rack. It was obvious that he had died a natural death, but Indians attribute every misfortune to the agency of some demon working under the direction of a personal agency. In this case, there was a good deal of discussion as to who the responsible party might be. Someone must have been to blame and a reasonable explanation had to be given. With Indians an explanation must [175] always be forthcoming for everything that happens, and their line of reasoning is often just about as sensible as our modern way of making plain the wonders of nature, which are still incomprehensible to our finite minds. The dead man had had no recognized enemies in the district, otherwise they would have been the first to be suspected. Failure to fix the blame on some fellow tribesman would cause attention to be focused on a stranger, and this is where Johnston and myself came in. Under such conditions, it would not need very much to implicate us in the affair, especially if we had been guilty of some indiscreet act such as photographing the man against his will."

25: Vigna-45-46 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 521, 574

The social obligations of the Jívaros are curious. On visits of courtesy or friendship, the visitor, even though he may be the father of the owner of the house, waits in silence near the door, until his host finishes his tasks, his conversation with another, his meal or his toilet. When the host deems it opportune, he addresses the visitor. The latter, on the alert and with his hand near his mouth, spitting on the floor at intervals, does not give greetings; he only tells him that he has come. And he repeats each expression two, three and even four times. The host accompanies with monosyllables of approbation, or by repeating the last word. After the speech, the host repeats the same speech with some comments; thus, the [46] conversation sometimes lasts whole hours. When there are many visitors, while one speaks, the others keep silent and remain in a file along the wall of the house, awaiting their turn for conversation with the host. One can imagine the thankless task which is imposed upon the latter when he is visited by many friends. Many times they become hoarse and aphonic from so much talking. Only at the end of the conversation does the master of the house order one of his women to serve chicha to the visitor; the cups of chicha are offered again and again until the guest says: enough. It is a dangerous thing to refuse chicha.

26: Brüning--50 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 574

Generally speaking, I found the Indians hospitable and generous. Whenever we entered one of their houses at mealtime, we were instantly invited to partake of their food, even if it was evident that they themselves did not have too much. However, they expect to find this type of courtesy in others. The Indians would take it as an insult if one would refuse a drink which they offer. A person who has refused a drink once may never expect to receive another offer of either drink or food. Later on I shall have an occasion to deal with this subject more thoroughly. I found the Indians honest, and this is also the opinion of the white men who live among them, though the whites are only too inclined to speak ill of the Indians.

26: Brüning--54 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 574, 103

I paid my first visit to two houses, close together in S. Antonio on the Muchingis River. The name S. Antonio was given to this settlement in honor of its Curaca Antonio by one of the most important rubber collectors, who lived in Nazaret, which is some 800 meters distant from the mouth of the Muchingis River. I do not know how the Indians themselves call "S. Antonio." I regard this random changing of place names a great nuisance. The same rubber collector had in most instances given new names to almost all the Indian settlements along the upper Marañón, and he had chosen the names from the names of his own family and had prefixed them with a San. This is also customary in other regions of Peru. You will not find the name of the Muchingis River on any map or elsewhere. This river is called Imaza or Chuchunga on Raimondi's map (number seven). Another of its names is Cliriaco, which means: Cold Water. I prefer the name Muchingis since, as the very same rubber collector informed me, it is used by the Indians who live along its banks.

From Nazaret the canoe brings you in one hour up the river to the village S. Antonio, situated, like Nazaret, on the left bank of the river. When we arrived, a number of women were busy collecting maní in baskets and carrying them into the house. (This maní had been spread out in the sun for drying purposes.) Between the women children were playing. The Curaca Antonio lost no time in presenting himself. He was dressed in a khaki suit, trimmed with golden galloons and metal buttons. He seemed to be quite proud of his suit, though this hangover from civilization was rather dirty and shabby. He had received it as a present from the rubber collector in Nazaret. Instantly he invited us to enter one of the houses, where he placed himself on one of the low seats motioning to us that we should do so likewise. He called on the women to serve us Masato. One after the other of these women came with their drinking cups, and one had to accept each one of them, though it requires the stomach of an Indian to carry out these rites of politeness. We reciprocated by giving him needles, sewing yarn, and small round mirrors. The house was very tidy and clean. I counted eight beds. In the course of time male Indians arrived, all eager to drink Masato. We also visited the other house which was still open on the sides (Illustration number 2).

Soon many Indians appeared, decorated with the ornaments of war, most of them armed with Winchester repeating rifles, and all of them drunk, which did not prevent them from drinking more Masato. I was accompanied by employees of the rubber collector, and

they told me that these drunken Indians had come from an assembly where they had made a brew from the narcotic liana [55] called Ayahuasca (a Quichua word) by the whites and Náktém by the Indians. They had made the brew in order to get enlightened as to the feasibility of a certain raiding expedition. It may very well have been the decision with regard to the revolt against the whites which happened in 1904. In spite of their drunkenness all of these Indians behaved properly, they even appeared very amiable.

When we first visited the house of the Curaca Laichape in Huaracayo we found there, with the exception of an old and almost blind Indian, only women and children. Our unexpected visit made evidently no impression upon the inhabitants of the house. We moved freely about the big house, and nobody paid any attention to us. Most of the women were seated on their beds, talked to their children or were just plain idle. Others were busy preparing the meal, and one was engaged in the making of pottery. She had in front of her a large lump of blueish clay which was extremely pliant. She took a piece and formed it into a long sausage by rolling it between her hands. She applied the sausage to the rim of the pot and fastened it there by kneading it. In this manner she added one roll after the other until the pot was finished. Unfortunately, I have no information as to how this earthenware is baked, but I have seen many containers, especially drinking bowls, glazed with a brown laquer.

We had stayed in the house for a short while, when the men appeared, one after the other. One of them had killed with his blowgun a number of small, many colored birds, which he began to skin right away in order to use their skin as decoration. He cut off the legs, took out the skull, but left the beaks. It seems that drying is all that these skins need. The skinned body of the bird was put, without further ado, upon a pointed stick, and after a short roasting over the fire it was consumed by the Indian.

Aside from the usual utensils we found in this house the grave of one of the five wives of the Curaca Laichape: she had hanged herself after her sense of honor had been

outraged. The grave was marked by an earthen mound (height: 70 cm.) which had the dimensions of a body. It was close to the wall of the house. I cannot explain the presence of this grave inside the house, for, in general, I have been told by the whites, the Indians give up their house after a person has died and was buried therein.

The Curaca Laichape was clad with shirt, trousers, and cap. He spoke a little Spanish. Later on he accompanied us to the Puerto Meléndez. He had taken along two of his relatives as boatsmen. The three proved to be very trustworthy and docile people.

/330 cont./ Each house
361 lies alone by itself, as though lost in the forest, and is usually
542 inhabited by only one family, rarely by several. In approach-
524 ing, certain precautionary measures must be observed to ensure
546 a friendly reception. The visit is announced from a great dis-
[721] tance by shouting, but in the immediate vicinity of the house one marches in absolute silence. This is done in order to demonstrate peaceful intent, since during an attack the Jivaro steals quietly through the forest, but then rushes with a loud war whoop across the open plaza to the house.

342 The houses, the tambos, are real forest palaces, ex-
824 tremely clean and regularly built, with successful utilization of the materials provided by the forest. The high roof, beautifully plaited out of palm leaves, is supported by several rows of slender columns, the faultless trunks of giant palms; the rafters are decoratively arranged in such a way that they can be considered ornamentation. The walls all around, made of tightly fitted split bamboo, fill hardly half the space between the floor and the edge of the roof, so that air comes in freely and yet
342 protection against a first attack is assured. Each house exhibits two doors, one on the straight front wall, the other in the center of the semicircular, projecting rear-side. The house of a young chief was 87 feet long, 60 feet wide, and about 25 feet
353 high, an airy, beautiful building. The front third served as a sort of reception room. Shield and drum were hung on the palm trunks supporting the roof; special contrivances permit the secure placement of the lances and blowguns, whose quivers
352 are put near the fires. /331/ Some low sitting-benches carved out of wood take the place of chairs; low benches made out of split bamboo are placed along the walls, and several frames of the same type serve as couches for the men so that they may take a siesta during the day. These latter contrivances are peculiar in that there is space on them for the body only about to the knee, but the foot rests on a slender crosspiece supported by
354 two forks for the support of the freely projecting leg. Directly in front of this pedestal a very smoky fire burns continuously,

/334 cont./

628 now retreating attackers, and thus new members all too easily become involved in the endless chain of blood revenge.

The terrible custom demands ever new, ever more victims, all security must disappear, every individual constantly [342] lives in danger of being ambushed; there is a general and perma- [574] nent state of war. Hence the arrangement of the houses, one [576] door of which can be used for flight, while the battle rages at the other; hence the customs mentioned at the beginning in connection with approaching a dwelling, for the protection of which, [231] in addition, a pack of half-wild dogs are kept. A quarrel be- 628 tween two families must lead to battles between whole tribes; 648 larger groups of tribes become hostile to one another; war and battle become customary, a man's lifework. A longer period of quiet, of peace, must be unbearable for such a nation of warriors. Ambitious, bold leaders will easily find companions for joint war expeditions; the neighboring nations are attacked and plundered. Thus, these Indians are carrying on among themselves a war of annihilation which must gradually bring about [161] their own downfall. Severe depopulation is already noticeable [164] in the region of the Jívaros, and it is being accelerated by [177] epidemics, of the diseases introduced by the Europeans, which appear with great violence at times.

727 It may be that the Jívaros themselves do not place very much confidence in the truth of their own war reports, or perhaps there are other reasons for demanding positive proof of the executed blood revenge and courage, but this much is certain, only the one who can display the head of the enemy as a trophy is regarded as victor. Thus all the effort goes into beheading the enemy. This is easy in an ambush, but more difficult in a regular 726 battle. The warriors are armed with shield and lance; and lately 41 with large forest knives. The circular shield, carved out of a 714 single piece of soft and light wood, is about half as high as a man; the lance, made out of a thin, hard palm shaft (chonta) provided with a tip made out of bone or iron, is six to seven feet long or more. The troops advance close together, each man in a bent position protected behind his shield; the lance rests in the

726 /334 cont./
411 right hand, held close to the tip. By a slight, regular move-
714 ment of the right arm the long shaft, held horizontally, /335/
is set to swinging vertically in order to give the weapon steadi-
ness and force when it is suddenly thrust forward. Shield pressed
to shield, they fight man to man amidst loud war cries; each
tries to protect himself; each tries to discover a weakness of the
opponent, without overly exposing himself to the stones thrown
by the women and children. If a lance thrust hits its mark and
the enemy is wounded and turns to flight, the shield is thrown
726 away, for now it is a matter of getting the head. For this
302 reason the men wear long hair. The courageous warrior offers
[554] his conqueror the possibility of grabbing him by the hair. Long
[720] hair is therefore considered the mark of the warrior, of the
free man; women, children, and the few war captives must
727 cut their hair. If a head is captured, it is brought in triumph
[796] to the house, where the trophy undergoes proper preparation.
This is an important religious ceremony. The skin of the head
is taken off; eyes and mouth are sewed up; hot stones are put
in the sack of skin thus obtained, by means of which the skin
dries out and shrinks; smaller and smaller hot stones are used,
until the head, completely dried, is reduced to the size of a fist.
Such preparation, which the happy possessor must perform him-
[784] self, is said to take eight days. During this entire time he may
[264] use his hands for no other work and he must be fed like a child.

727 Once the trophy is ready, a great festival is arranged,
796 for which a special festival hall is erected; all the friends and
273 acquaintances help with the construction and bring hospitality
[574] gifts. The principal thing is the preparation of the intoxicating
[431] drink from the yuca root in order to spend days in senseless
drunkenness. The yuca is chewed by the women and left in large
containers to ferment. The drink thus obtained has a pleasant
taste at first, between almond milk and lemonade, but becomes
strong and intoxicating with increasing fermentation.

727 Friends from far and near gather for the festival, adorned
796 with bright feathers, with long earrings fashioned out of the shiny
[237] wing coverings of large beetles, with prettily plaited hats or,
[301]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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KEY TO FIGURE 1

A Doorway at women's end of the house
- A_1 Removable door posts in upright position
- A_2 Crowbar holding door posts in place

B Chicken nest formed by a wedge of two palm slats against the base of the house wall

C Older wife's palm-slat bed, with crowbar footrest and three fire logs

D Married daughter's (and son-in-law's) bed

E Ordinary rectangular stool (*kuspa*), placed for use by a male visitor

F Doorway at men's end of the house
- F_1 Removable door post (left upright in the door)
- F_2 Removable door posts laid on the floor for use as visitors' benches

G House owner's bed, for his daytime napping and for use by overnight visitors

H House owner's round stool (*timpui*)

I Palm-slat platforms built above the reach of small children for the storage of large pottery vessels

J Younger wife's bed

K Younger wife's baby's hammock, made of a piece of cloth suspended between two poles

L Ordinary rectangular stool placed for use by the younger wife in cooking and making manioc beer

M Split guadua bamboo platform suspended between house-posts to support food and beer bowls. Underneath are the large beer-brewing jars of both wives.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivàro SD9

342 356 362 leak. Occasionally, such leakage does not occur significantly until the ninth year of occupancy.

342 361 If structural decay alone forces abandonment of a house, the new one is constructed sometimes only fifty to a hundred yards away. More frequently, however, poor hunting conditions necessitate the construction of the new structure [224] two or three miles distant. Sometimes the scarcity of game requires a move to a greater distance, ten miles or more. In [628] the not infrequent cases when a man and his family flee the neighborhood to escape assassination attempts, the new dwelling may be erected forty to eighty miles from the previous [768] site. The death of the male head of the household is also cause for abandonment.

342 462 476 602 Houses are constructed by the men. While most of the building work technically could be done by the dwelling owner himself, he is generally helped by one or two close male relatives living nearby. The transportation and erection of the main house posts are the only tasks requiring a larger crew. For this effort, the owner invites about half a dozen male neighbors to help him.

342 554 Posts, beams, roof and walls are all lashed firmly together with strips of inner tree bark. Proceeding painstakingly, a man usually constructs a large and impressive structure capable of withstanding not only the natural elements and enemy attack, but also critical evaluation by his neighbors. The size and quality of a man's house is regarded as a serious indication of his personal "power," *kakaram*.

595 574 535 A family averaging only about nine persons typically occupies these rather large houses. While to a casual observer the size of the house might seem excessive in terms of everyday needs, the large floor space is deemed essential for hosting visitors, who are often guests coming to drink and dance. Since dancing is never done outdoors, where persons would

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

be unprotected from rain and possible attackers, a large floor area is essential. A large house also makes it possible for neighboring relatives to congregate in the dwelling to make a combined stand against an expected enemy attack. Space needs are, in addition, particularly great when a *tsantsa* feast is given, since large numbers of guests dance and sleep within the house on such occasions. Under such circumstances, extra beds are built to line the walls.

The Jívaro divide the house conceptually and functionally into two halves: the men's end (*tanamaša*), and the women's (*ekenta*). The men's half serves as a parlor and sleeping place for visitors. A couple of stools and a log door post or two serving as a bench are usually found in this end for the host and his visitors (Figure 1, H, E, F_2). The house owner's personal palm or bamboo slat bed is also located in the men's end (Figure 1, G) and, when there are visitors, is slept on by those male guests unaccompanied by wives. Sometimes, if there is not enough bed space, visitors will sleep on banana leaves spread on the dirt floor in the men's end of the house.

When there are no guests, the house owner uses the bed for his daytime napping, and for nighttime sleeping alone when his wife is menstruating or angry with him. Otherwise he sleeps with his wife on her bed in the women's half of the house. If he has more than one wife, there is a bed for each (Figure 1, J, C). Often an extra bed or two is also installed on the women's side for married couples who are visiting, or for a daughter and her husband during the period of temporary matrilocal residence within the house (Figure 1, D). Such beds are also utilized by children who no longer sleep on their mother's bed. Split bamboo (*Guadua* sp.) shelves are suspended in the women's end between the center posts (Figure 1, M) and palm slat or split bamboo shelves (Figure 1, I) along the walls. These are used to store pottery and baskets of pea-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

241 595 the garden area is in a single clearing or several, its total size is heavily influenced by the number of wives a man has to cultivate the fields. A household with one wife tends to have a garden of about 50,000 square feet, while a second spouse increases the area to about 65,000, and a third to approximately 75,000. The areal increases are usually not simple multiples of the number of wives because the demand for food and beer to feed visitors tends to lag behind the increments in additional wives. These figures vary, of course, according to the consumption demands of the household, its number of visitors, and the industry of its inhabitants. A man who wishes to gain prestige may clear garden areas of larger size for each of his wives. In such a case, a household in which there are two wives may sometimes have a total garden of 100,000 square feet or more.

[574] [574] [554]

By measuring the yield within a restricted section of garden, the writer was able to arrive at a rough estimate of the quantity of a single harvest per 10,000 square feet of cultivated land. The results indicate that a "one wife" household with a garden of some 50,000 square feet may yield these approximate amounts of the major crops: 300 bushels of manioc; a total of 180 bushels of *papa china*, Araceae corms and sweet potato combined; 300 pounds of peanuts; and 90 stems of plantains and bananas.

241 595 462 The preparation of a garden begins with clearing the forest. The head of the household, sometimes assisted by a son or son-in-law, fells and trims the trees and clears the undergrowth with a steel axe and machete. His wife (wives) and daughters (if any) drag the slashings into piles, which are burned ten to fourteen days later, provided the weather is sufficiently dry. Women do not assist in making clearings for maize, since the slashings, in the case of that crop, are left unburned on the ground where they fall. Occasionally a man

[606] [412] [243]

241 476

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

sonally from the fruits of the chonta palm (*Guilielma utilis*). 273

A rough estimate of the average daily beer consumption of the adult male is three to four gallons; of the adult female, approximately one to two gallons; and of nine- to ten-year-old children, about half a gallon. The beer must ferment for four or five days to reach its maximum alcoholic content, but this is usually intentionally done only for feasts planned in advance. On the other hand, a jar or two of beer may reach such strength simply because it has not been consumed, in which case its availability provides an occasion to invite neighbors to come by for a drinking and dancing party. [146] [855]

The division of labor between men and women in agricultural activities is well defined. Women do most of the laborious garden work, being exclusively responsible for planting and harvesting manioc, Araceae species, sweet potato, *papa china*, red pepper, sugar cane, onion, and pineapple. Men and women work together to plant peanuts, but only women harvest them. Men alone plant and harvest maize. They also plant plantain and the "gold" bananas, but let the women do the harvesting. Women have sole responsibility for the arduous and never ending task of weeding. They use the machete as the weeding tool, scraping the earth to cut off all weeds at ground level. This task consumes the greatest amount of their time in the garden. 462 24

An idea of the nature of the sexual division of labor and, incidentally, of the importance of manioc beer, may be provided by the following log of a daily subsistence routine. 273 462 512 574

The husband gets up from his wife's bed at about 2 A.M., goes to the men's end of the house and sits down on a stool. He washes his mouth out with water from a gourd "bottle" at his side. He calls to his wife to "bring beer." She heats up some water and mixes it with manioc beer, and brings a pot of it to him. She

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• 574
273
462
512
[252]
[283]

serves him and an overnight male visitor by the light of a burning copal torch. Then she returns to her end of the house and boils plantains and manioc. She then gives each person a serving bowl of this food. Her husband, meanwhile, has been spinning cotton yarn and talking quietly with the male visitor. The wife brings more beer and serves it.

She goes back to her end of the house and remains seated and resting by the fire for about half an hour. Then she returns, bringing more beer. Since the men do not immediately finish the beer, she stays crouching by the side of her husband, listening to the conversation (she has just eaten a little bit of manioc herself in the women's end of the house). She returns there, remains approximately half an hour, and then brings beer again. She goes back to her end of the house again for about another half hour, and then returns with more beer. This time she stays to chat a bit with her husband and then goes back to her area. It is now almost dawn.

[224]

The husband calls out to his wife to bring beer. She carries in a large pot of beer and serves continually from it until dawn. He then informs her that he is going hunting, and puts beer in his calabash canteen, takes some boiled manioc in a net bag, and his gun, and sets off with his wife and hunting dogs. The children stay at home.

[224]

They return home from the hunt at about 2 P.M., having killed an agouti. As soon as they arrive, the man asks his wife to bring

[252]

him beer, which she does. Then he butchers the agouti and she boils it in a pot. When it is cooked, she brings the pot to the middle of the house and takes out all the meat, placing it on fresh banana leaves. She calls the men to come and eat. They arise, picking up their stools, and move to the banana leaves. Then all the children come and squat around them. The wife gives one piece of meat to each child, and a separate serving bowl of meat to the male visitor.

When all is eaten, the men get up and return with their stools to where they were sitting before. They rinse their mouths

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and hands with water from the gourd "bottle." Then the husband, getting up, calls to his wife to bring beer. Having drunk more beer, he lies down on the bed in the men's end of the house. He rests until approximately 5 P.M., while his wife goes to the garden, brings back manioc, and cooks it. He then gets up and tells his wife to bring beer. She carries in calabash bowls of beer. The husband then tells her to bring manioc and meat.

After this meal, his wife brings in a small pot of beer. The men take only two servings of beer apiece, and then converse. They talk about twenty minutes, and take new servings of beer. The wife stays at the side of her husband during these twenty minutes, sometimes participating in the conversation. After this second serving, the wife returns to her end of the house, and the men continue talking until dark. Then the wife brings in a copal torch and lights it. They talk once more and then drink beer again. Finally they finish the pot of beer and the wife returns to her end of the house with it. There she goes to bed, while the men continue their conversation. She rests about half an hour, when her husband calls her to serve beer. She brings a pot of it. The men drink and she remains with them. When they finish the beer, the wife returns to her end of the house, washes out the pot and the calabash serving bowl, and stores them for the night. Then she goes to bed. After half an hour, the men go to bed also, her husband joining her in the women's end of the house, the male visitor sleeping on the husband's daytime bed in the men's end of the house.

For the same household, this is a record of an alternative schedule, on a day when the husband decided to fell trees to make a garden clearing instead of going hunting. The routine up to dawn is similar:

Then he tells his wife of his intention to work clearing trees. She puts a pot of beer into a carrying basket and packs manioc

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of insects and fruits
kinds of gathered f

Insects particularl
and mature forms.
are cut open to coll
(*wakimi*, *Lovelom*
larvae of a large m
of the butterfly *tam*
Leaf-eating ants (*a*
pumi) also are col

The various speci
of wild plant food.
other palms (*bipah*
down with machete
ampakai, these palm
hamat) also supply
fruits, which are h
quently young ter
(*nantu*, *nalim'*, *ipii*,
food. Generally, th
tivities is the mach

Virtually all fam
and a very few hav
wander relatively f
start rooting in the
around is to keep
threaten the garde
houses and the ya

Chickens, ducks,
pecially to feed v
uncommon cases
planning a *tsantsa*

ruits, shoots and leaves constitute the main 222
ed foods.

larly are relished as food items, both in larval [261]
ns. The rotten cores of fallen chonta palms
collect cocoons of two kinds of edible grubs
čam), and the ivory nut palm often yields
moth (*wampay*). Cocoons containing grubs
tampirulă are removed from hanging vines.
(*aiyayü*) and a kind of grasshopper (*tsam-*
collected.

pecies of palms are the most important source [262]
od. The chonta (*Guilielma utilis*), royal, and
inak, *kuakal*, *ampakai*, *tirintă*) are chopped
hetes to obtain their edible tips. Except for the [252]
palms (together with the ivory nut palm and [293]
ply an annual harvest of large clusters of edible [262]
e both eaten boiled and made into beer. Fre-
tender leaves are collected from other plants
ipii, *wanat*), but no wild roots are dug up for
, the only tool used in all these gathering ac-
machete.

families raise chickens, some also raise ducks, 231
keep pigs. A household's pigs are allowed to [235]
ly freely in the adjacent forest to feed. If they [417]
the garden, a low rail fence may be built
ep them out. Neighbors' pigs never seem to
rden, because of the long distances between
small numbers of pigs kept.

cks, and their eggs are utilized for food, es- 262
d visitors when no game is on hand. In the 574
es where pigs are kept, the family usually is 765
ntsa feast and intends to slaughter the pigs to [235]
[231]

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feed the large number of anticipated guests, who could not be supplied with enough meat from hunting alone. Normally, however, the contribution of the animal domesticates, essentially fowl, is less than 5 per cent of the diet.

At least one or two dogs are kept in most households. These not only aid in hunting in the forest, as mentioned earlier, but also protect the garden crops, including the manioc tubers, from devastation by agouti and other rodents. A family without a good hunting dog lives in fear of losing much of its garden produce within a few months. An equally important service that they provide is to act as watchdogs against surprise attacks. Leashed to beds in the women's end of the house (see Plate 11), their slightest barking usually results in the household head seizing his gun and preparing to defend himself and his family. Since the dogs' barking indicates that the intended victim has been alerted, the attacking party generally withdraws. Interestingly, the name for dog, *nirud*, is the same term used to designate the feared and respected jaguar.

The importance of dogs in hunting, protecting the garden, and defense helps to explain the high degree of care they receive. When puppies are born, one of the owner's wives observes a kind of couvade, in which she lies abed with the bitch to protect the litter from supernatural harm. A puppy is nursed by the wife as well as by its canine mother. Even in adult life, the dog normally sleeps on the bed beside its owners, and is fed premasticated manioc in a special wooden dish. Dogs, like people, are even given the hallucinogenic *Datura* to help them obtain supernatural power.

The majority of households contain at least one pet besides the dog. Such pets, which include monkeys, marmosets, parakeets, parrots, macaws, and doves, are captured and

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462 to the task. A man normally takes pride in his ability as
283 a weaver, as evidenced by this yarn-spinning song:

[286]
[533]
[539]

For me it is very easy
To spin yarn,
For I am a man-spider.
I am a man-spider.
Therefore I am adept.

My hand is like the hand
Of a spider.
Because of this
I make the spindle hum.

386 Men spin yarn from home-grown cotton and dye it by
[283] dipping it into vegetal solutions. Special clay is sometimes
[177] rubbed into wet yarn to produce dark shades. European dyes
286 still are unknown. Cotton kilts (*inipi*) of a standard size and
294 decoration are woven on a backstrap loom. Women's dresses (*unuli*) are made by sewing two such cotton kilts together.

291 The home-woven kilts and dresses are the most common type of daily dress. Both men's kilts and women's dresses are simply pieces of cloth wrapped around the body and held together by a string or belt. The men's kilt is typically held in place by a bark string, while the women's dress is fastened over the right shoulder, and a string or home-woven cotton belt keeps it closed. Both garments are made of heavily woven cloth highly resistant to tearing, and capable of enduring daily wear for about four years.

291 While home-woven garments constitute the daily garb, the
292 wearing of machine-woven trade clothing or cloth is reserved
177 for visiting and receiving visitors. At such times, men who
•574 have trade shirts put them on, and men who possess two

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home-woven kilts wear the newer of the pair. Less frequently, a man also possesses a pair of trousers for special wear (see Plate 16). A few women, who have obtained machine-manufactured cloth, make their own "party dresses." Sometimes a man has an Achuara-made kilt, which he saves for visiting.

Families lacking woven cloth make kilts and dresses from bark cloth. Such clothing is much inferior in durability, and is considered an indication of family indolence and weakness.

Nunui

Agricultural subsistence, especially, is connected with a system of belief which surrounds an "earth mother" named Nunui. Whether Nunui is best viewed as a class of crop fairies or as a goddess appears to be a difficult matter to decide.[9] On the one hand, the Jivaro usually speak of Nunui in the singular, but they deny that there is just one, saying that there are "many," although all are identical in their attributes. For convenience, Nunui will be referred to here in the singular.

Nunui, it is believed, is responsible for pushing the crops up through the ground, i.e., for their growth. Without her help, a woman cannot expect to be successful as a gardener and, therefore, engages in various practices to attract Nunui to the garden, and to keep her there. Such practices are based upon a knowledge of Nunui's two main demands from the Jivaro: to be given a place to dance and to be provided with "babies."

It is believed that Nunui, who is about three feet high, very fat, and dressed in a black *tsuchi*, according to those who have seen her in dreams and hallucinogen-induced visions,

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585 [584] one afternoon to the house of the girl and her parents, and sleeps that night in the men's end of the house. Before dawn, he leaves the house with a blowgun and goes hunting, attempting to kill a large number of birds and monkeys in order to impress the girl's parents with his competence. When he returns, he offers the game to the girl to cook and he awaits her final decision. If she has decided to marry him, she will squat down beside the suitor when she serves the cooked food and join him in eating it. From that moment on, they are considered husband and wife and will sleep together that night.

535 574 272 261 559 The importance of wives in producing food and beer goes far beyond the subsistence requirements of the household itself. Plural wives ensure a surplus production which will make possible adequate entertainment of visitors from other households. The Jivaro place a high value on drinking beer and eating (perhaps in that order), so that one's status in a neighborhood is greatly affected by one's generosity with beer and food. No one can expect to have many friends unless he is a good host, and he cannot easily meet the requirements of good hospitality without plural wives as a labor force.

224 535 [462] A man also prefers to have plural wives so that one will be available to accompany him when he goes hunting while the other(s) tends the household and garden. The wife who goes with him not only handles the dog and acts as the intermediary with Nunui, but also assists him by carrying a machete and a basket of manioc and other provisions. Usually the preferred companion for such hunting trips is the youngest wife, who is least likely to be encumbered with children and therefore most willing to go. The wife often looks forward to hunting trips as an opportunity to have sexual intercourse in privacy, away from the rest of the household. Having sexual relations

535 224 833 [92]

14 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1968)[illegible]73 SD9 Jivaro SD9

you are mistaken. You are really my branch 'brother' (*kená yuli*), not my true 'brother,' and since this enemy of yours is really my true 'brother-in-law' (*ekás uí*) it would not be right."

Although often a source of frustration and confusion, this manipulation of defined degrees of relationship can serve to save a man's life. When he visits a strange house, the host may subject him to an interrogation regarding the names of his relatives and their degree of relationship to the visitor, pretending a purely friendly interest in the subject. Usually, however, the host really wants to determine whether his visitor is a close relative of any of his enemies. In answering his interrogator, the visitor carefully puts into the "branch" category as many of his relatives as possible, particularly those whom he thinks may be enemies of the host. At the same time, he promotes to the "true" category those of his relatives whom he knows are friendly to the interrogator or the interrogator's relatives. A good memory of kin relationships of both enemies and friends is, of course, essential to this sometimes adroit manipulation of the "true-branch" definitions.

Failure to manipulate kin classification successfully can result in the visitor's food or beer being poisoned or in his being ambushed by the host after he leaves the house. It is not surprising, therefore, that fathers often spend an hour or more before dawn lecturing their sons on the degree of relationship between a variety of enemies and friends in their own and other neighborhoods. Such lectures also include advice on how to avoid dangerous entanglements, how to

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[illegible] (facing page)

* Kinship Chart. Elementary terms of reference (male speaking)

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get along well with kinsmen, and how to survive in general, as illustrated by this excerpt from such a morning monologue:

Listen, son, when you grow up, do not enter the house of Ampuiá, who is my enemy. When I die, when my daughter is grown, she can marry whom she wants. If her husband is from a distant neighborhood, don't go to visit her. Afterwards, when you have married and I am dead, if you have a daughter, I know that one day the son of my enemy will make peace with you. But don't give him your daughter, or he will kill you. When I die, you have to give your sister to your true [*nekás*] *ani*. Thus you will live in peace and there will be no fighting or anything. If you give her to another man, then when you drink beer and get drunk, that man, although he is married to your sister, can speak to my enemy to plot your death. Thus are they accustomed to kill.

Then when your daughter is married, never speak harshly to your *awe* [son-in-law] or get mad at him or he will leave your daughter and become your enemy. When one never gets angry with his *awe*, and lives peacefully, the *awe* divides his game, and also his chickens and pigs, with you. Sometimes, when we get old, we cannot build a house. But if we have an *awe*, he will help build it.

Never beat your wife or get drunk. If some other man sees this happen and talks about it, it will be a shame. If you live well and give your daughter to an *awe*, then the father or brother of this *awe* may come to visit in order to see how you live. If you don't live well together, then the father of this *awe* will say, "This man is bad."

Also you must tell your daughter, "Obey your husband, supply good food, and do not commit adultery with other men. Otherwise he will surely beat you. And if the family of your husband comes to visit, you have to get up immediately and serve beer and food to the guests. If you don't, then they and many other people will say that you don't get up, even though your husband asks you to do so, and this is bad."

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527 Parties, centering around manioc beer drinking and *hewe-*
[273] *mani*, or social dances, are the main form of regular group
[535] interaction with neighbors. Most typically they occur when a man has worked hard for several days felling trees to expand the garden and wishes to invite a few neighbors [251] to spend a night in recreation with him. He instructs his wives to make a large quantity of beer and then during the next few days does much hunting until he has brought home a good quantity of meat (that which is obtained first is roasted and kept dry and unspoiled in a basket high [273] over a fire). By this time the beer has fermented sufficiently, and he goes to the houses of several friendly neighbors who are also usually close relatives.

• 574 Such parties, usually on a slightly smaller scale, also can simply occur when another family happens to drop by on an afternoon to visit or stay overnight, if there is a respect-[235] able beer supply on hand. In the latter case, when the party is unplanned, a chicken or two may be killed for meat, since the host may not have wild game meat immediately on hand.
[273] Planned parties occur when chonta palm fruit is harvested
[752] and made into beer, and also to celebrate when someone has survived snakebite.

527 After the visitors have been drinking and conversing for
534 a few hours, a few flutes and a monkey skin drum will be brought out, and a kind of "jam session" begins. Soon the
535 women put on snail shell dance belts, and the drinkers begin
527 to dance in pairs, males facing females. The woman hops up and down, her shell belt tinkling the rhythm, while her male partner steps back and forth or strolls casually around [395] while beating the drum. As darkness falls, copal torches are lit, and the party often continues until the middle of the night
533 or early morning. As the pairs of men and women dance
535 opposite each other, they sing in a kind of counterpoint,
527

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that they are not on a hostile mission of wealth. Upon arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and food, in keeping with Jivaro etiquette. The host is also honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peaceably, at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even though the woman serving it dips her hand into the bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though, that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakaram* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakaram* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors such as his desire to accumulate *arutam* soul power through killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate probably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jivaro recognize that one of the major motivations for asking a *kakaram* who is an enemy for killing assistance is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at

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Several cases were encountered in which men gave their daughters in marriage to shamans without the customary bride-service, or even the less common bride-price, because the girls' fathers feared the bewitching power of the shamans. It is also standard practice for shamans to be given gifts of chickens, clothing, and ornaments during casual visits to laymen's houses, even though the shamans have not specifically asked for them. Laymen, in contrast, are usually not given presents by fellow non-shamans without asking for them. Shamans are quite conscious of their privileges, and often boasted to me how well they (compared to non-shamans) were fed when visiting neighbors' houses.

Shamans hire neighbors to help in land clearing more often than do non-shamans. Such labor is ostensibly reciprocal, but the shaman's neighbors are reluctant to ask him to work for them in turn. This is partly due to their desire to maintain his goodwill, but there also seems to be a feeling that extensive manual labor is not in keeping with the shaman's supernatural preoccupations and services.

A shaman obtains his power to bewitch or cure exclusively through purchase. To become a shaman, a man presents a sizeable gift to an established practitioner. Such a gift must have some real value in native terms. Typically, it consists of one or two muzzle-loading shotguns, gunpowder, shot, primers, a blowgun and curare, and a machete or steel axehead. In return for this payment, the practicing shaman instructs the apprentice in his new profession and supplies him with magical power, in the form of the spirit servants called *tsentsak* (see pp. 154-66). The exchange of shamanistic power for payment in material valuables (*tsuri*) makes the two men *aenigri* or "friends," as is the case with normal trading partners (see pp. 128-31). However, the relationship between shamans is a hierarchical one signif-

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beside his pile facing the other. Each says, "Take these things," and they embrace. The two men's wives then go through the same ritual, and finally, both men and their wives all embrace each other.

In this first exchange of goods between *amigri*, and also in subsequent exchanges, usually several large baskets of goods are involved. A typical inventory of goods given by the man coming from the east consists of feather ornaments, beads, blowguns, blowgun dart poison, a hunting dog, and a home-woven kilt. The other man, with white man's goods from the west, presents black powder, shot, percussion caps, a machete, knives, and a shotgun.

Following the first exchange, the host says to the other, "I will bring you valuables (*kuit*). You do the same for me." His visitor in turn, says, "When I send word to you, then you come to visit me." Such word, when it is transmitted later, usually is carried by some other visitor between the neighborhoods of the two *amigri*. When the former host (often accompanied by a wife) returns the visit, he receives a most hospitable reception. In fact, trading partners tend to try to outdo one another in their generosity. If one man fed the other much chicken during his earlier visit, his friend may then feel it necessary to kill a pig to supply his guest with even a greater quantity of choice meat. If he has no pig to kill, then at least he insists that his guest and his wife take half of the household's chickens back with them when they return home. The giving of half of one's easily transportable valuables to one's *amigri* is a characteristic feature of the trading partnership.

Amigri are expected to exchange equal amounts of goods with each other, at least over a period of several months, if not in a single transaction. There are standard recognized

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[415]
[273]

16. Visitors to an uncompleted house receiving manioc beer prior to engaging in conversation with the host. Guns are always carried on visits and prominently displayed (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

[353]

17. Host in typical pose when receiving visitors. Hand is cupped over mouth and shotgun cradled in lap (region between the upper Río Macuma and the upper Río Cangaimi, 1956–57).

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When this first *tsantsa* feast is concluded, the head-takers return to their separate homes and begin to make preparations for the two subsequent feasts which each of them will host individually. Since enormous quantities of beer and food are consumed at these celebrations, the head-taker normally has to clear additional garden space for his wife or wives to plant to assure an ample supply of manioc. The first of these two celebrations, named *nuwuk*, normally takes place no sooner than after a year, to allow time for garden clearing and the growth of a large mature crop of manioc as well as for the raising of pigs to help provide meat for the feasting. Also the host may delay the celebration in order to build a new, larger house more worthy of the occasion. Thus, often two or three years pass before a man gives the feast.

To assure a large quantity of wild game for the feast, men who are close relatives of the host separately go hunting long distances from the house for a period of approximately nine or ten days before the opening day. Lacking any mnemonic system for keeping count of the days accurately, they are able to time their return to coincide with the arrival of the guests at the feast with the aid of an ingenious device which might be called a "banana clock." That is, the host gives each hunter a green cooking banana or plantain from the same stalk, which is one of those hanging in the house to ripen for the feast. When each of the hunters' plantains is almost fully ripe, they know that it is time to return for the celebration. The host also sends or delivers plantains from the same stalk to those invited guests living at some distance so that they, too, will arrive at the same time.

The celebration lasts five days and is followed, about a month later, by the third feast (*napin*). This is the largest of all, with the head-taker supplying food and drink for six days. He must be able to provide plentifully for all his guests or the

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574 765 796 occasion would cause him to lose, rather than to gain, prestige. Guests at the feasts usually number up to about 125–150 persons, and mainly come from the local neighborhoods. Since these last two feasts, totaling eleven days of unremitted hospitality, must be supplied from the same harvest, often little food remains in the gardens at the end of the celebrations. Not uncommonly, the host and his family are forced onto a relatively meager diet for some months thereafter until the gardens can recover from their near-exhaustion. Sometimes such a large amount of the gardens' supply of manioc is consumed that the host is unable to follow the second feast with the third. There is no stigma attached to this, but it means that the *tsantsa* never undergoes its final modification.

765 532 [796] [283] When, and if, all three feasts have been given, the chonta pins and palm-fiber string are removed from the mouth of the *tsantsa* and replaced with long white cotton strings (see Plate 21). The reason given for not using cotton strings during the shrinking stage is that they would have burned. The strings, two to each of the three lip holes, are intertwined near the mouth and dangle below as much as a yard, transected by three horizontal red bands of achiote paint. Often miniature ear ornaments of red and yellow toucan breast feathers are also hung from the ears at this time, the most correctly made examples having three such pendants from each lobe. In this finished form, the *tsantsa* may be kept as a decorative keepsake in the house for years. It may be worn by the head-taker on solitary, meditative walks in the forest, or in social dances at his house, and, if not eventually traded to the whites, it may finally be buried with him.[6]

[353] [301] [595] [439] [764] The primary purpose of the *tsantsa* feast, from the Jivaro point of view, is not supernatural, although that is recognized by them as a secondary purpose; but is to acquire prestige, friendship, and obligations through being recognized as

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